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ABSTRACT

Recent increases in black migration to the suburbs and the continuing existence of discrimination in housing have emphasized the issues of integration and resegregation in suburban municipalities. To prevent resegregation, many integrated municipalities have adopted integration maintenance measures such as efforts to inform people that racial diversity will not lead to community decline; deliberate attempts to influence housing choices in order to promote racial diversity; school desegregation; and development schemes to prevent decline in racially mixed communities. It has been argued that integration maintenance tools are illegal, that they unfairly restrain the realty business, and that they discriminate against black homeowners and renters. Ethical considerations point to the possibility of integration maintenance policy being exploited to control black influx into a community by allowing entry only to more economically advantaged blacks or limiting blacks' housing choices. Both legal and ethical aspects must be considered in undertaking integration maintenance programs. Population data for Oak Park, Illinois, demonstrate that integration maintenance affected long term demographic trends and prevented resegregation in the community. The study of Oak Park, and similar studies in other areas may be of use in developing programs for fair housing and integration maintenance. (Author/MJL)

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INTEGRATION, RESEGREGATION AND INTEGRATION MAINTENANCE

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Presented at the 1982 Annual
Meeting of the Urban Affairs
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I. INTRODUCTION

Activist Saul Alinsky was said to have defined integration as the time between the arrival of the first Black family and the departure of the last White family. While "open communities" have often been put forward as a goal for society and since 1968 have had the support of Federal law (1) the success rate of racially mixed neighborhoods and communities has not been outstanding. Although there is much disagreement as to the existence of a "tipping point" (2) research as well as casual observation leads to the conclusion that areas experiencing inmigration of Black residents will usually with time become predominantly Black. To be sure there is more than one explanation of this phenomenon but the most supportable argument points to a continuing existence of housing market discrimination resulting in an unequal geographical distribution of Black and White homeseekers (3).

Until recently integration and subsequent resegregation (4) have been issues confined to neighborhoods in major cities due to the relatively few Black suburbanites. But this is changing. In a 1979 HUD sponsored study, Nelson found that since 1973 the net migration of Blacks to central cities has been negative due to increases in outmigration (5). Simply stated, there has been a sharp increase of movement of Blacks to the suburbs. In some instances this has been to previously all-Black suburbs but for the most part it has meant the "opening up" of previously all Whites areas. With the continuing existence of discriminative housing markets the result has been a shift in the issues of integration and resegregation to suburbia.

Many suburban municipalities have responded to becoming integrated by establishing programs, policies and statutes in an attempt to keep the community

from resegregating. Collectively these actions are commonly referred to as integration maintenance or the promotion of racial diversity. As might be expected such actions can be controversial and have both Black and White opponents as well as proponents. It is the purpose of this paper to describe some of the common integration maintenance techniques that are in use, to explore some of the arguments that can be used to support or oppose them and to make a preliminary assessment of the impacts of integration maintenance on one community, Oak Park, Illinois, by studying the demographic shifts of both White and Black residents in Oak Park and the adjacent parts of the city of Chicago.

Before proceeding further some definitions are needed. There is no commonly accepted definition as to what constitutes an integrated community. To some Whites the presence of one Black family anywhere close by means that their neighborhood is integrated. Most Blacks feel that a community must have a "significant" Black population before it is integrated. Likewise there is no consensus as to when a community has resegregated. Disagreements on this point exist both within and between races. Resegregation presumably does not mean a total change from one race to another for while it is possible to find many all-White communities, all-Black communities are much less common.

For the purpose of this paper an integrated community will be defined as one having at least 10% White or Black residents. A resegregated community thus is one which originally had fewer than 10% percent of residents of one race, usually Black and now has more than 90% percent of that race. Since we are also concerned about the process of racial change a racially stable community will be defined as one that in the previous census period underwent a racial change of less than 50%. This is clearly a liberial definition but one

that will allow for identifying a maximum of "stably integrated" communities Implicit in this . definition is the existence of a "tipping point" which is tied to a rate of racial change rather than a specific percentage believed to initiate "white flight."

II. RACIALLY DIVERSE SUBURBS AND INTEGRATION MAINTENANCE

There is no exact count as to how many suburbs in this country are actually integrated. While it would be possible, using census data, to enumerate the communities that on the whole have a racial mix, many of these are only nominally integrated, having their minority populations geographically concentrated. Rates at which communities are integrating could also be determined, but as of yet are not known for all suburbs in all cities.

Obermanns, however, in an unpublished study of twenty three midwestern Census Urbanized Areas of over 250,000, identified 204 racially diverse suburban municipalities in 1978 (6). This was 98 more than he identified using 1970 data. Obermanns used the percentage of non White births rather than population to define "racially diverse" arguing that "birth data reflects the ability of a community to begin to attract, or to continue to attract and retain, a racially mixed group of new young families with children to its residences and schools (7)." The typically racially diverse suburb was found by Obermanns to have a population of less than 25,000 and composition of 5-39% Non-White births. That is, most were small and have a mostly White population.

Less is known as to how many racially diverse communities practice some form of integration maintenance. Since the tools of integration maintenance, discussed in the next section, are so varied, a count is probably not possible. Some cities, such as Shaker Heights, Ohio; Oak Park, Illinois; Park Forest, Illinois; and Cleveland Heights, Ohio, have well established programs and are well known but many communities may even be practicing integration maintenance without knowing it. For the past five years several communities have been meeting annually under the banner of an ad hoc event called the Oak Park

Exchange Congress and have been sharing ideas and discussing pertinent issues. A typical Exchange Congress attracts people from about 40 different communities and a conservative estimate is that least 100 communities have participated at one time or another. Since the Exchange Congress attracts communities mainly from the East and the Midwest there are no doubt many other communities from other parts of the country who are concerned and doing something about maintaining racial diversity.

III. THE TOOLS OF INTEGRATION MAINTENANCE

There is no standard model of an integration maintenance program. Different communities rely on different tools and techniques to promote integration and racial diversity. Some of these are controversial, others are not. Some are little more than are expected from any agressive community and were race not involved would be considered "boosterism." Others are direct attempts to influence the housing market. In this section a variety of integration maintenance procedures are briefly reviewed. In the following section their social, ethical and legal implications will be considered.

In order for a community to be racially diverse it must be open to people of all races. Thus a pre-requisite for integration maintenance is a public awareness that a community is "open." This usually results from a fair housing ordinance, a human relations commission or an equivalent group and the agressive enforcement of fair housing laws. The community of Oak Park for example, passed and on several occassions has reafirmed a resolution stating that it is the policy of the Village to promote racial diversity. Statements that a community is open to all, backed by meaningful action are a first step towards integration maintenance.

Once Blacks and other minorities begin to move into a community, officials and community leaders usually conclude that something more is needed if the community is to become and remain integrated. One set of actions that is taken are attempts to allay White fears that the community will deteriorate as it becomes less White. Some of this consists of mere image building pointing out what a great place the community is. This hopefully has the effect of

stemming "White-flight" while at the same time helping to maintain and to build "White demand" for housing from outside the community. Increased police protection and the provision of other public services rather than public disinvestment in areas where Blacks have begun to move is also a sign to both White as well as Black residents that a community is committed to maintaining quality. The Village of Oak Park, relocated its Village Hall from the west to the east side of the Village when Blacks began to move westward into the Village from adjacent Chicago. Village officials contended that this was a commitment on the part of the Village to its east side. The Oak Park Exchange Congress, mentioned obove, was initially started as a public relations tool to promote the "success" of Oak Park in becoming and remaining integrated. Another tenchnique used in some communities is "equity assurance," essentially an insurance policy against housing value decline.

A more direct way of attempting to influence the housing market is what is known as "beningn steering." Although this can take various forms the basic intent is to encourage Blacks to move to those parts of community where the concentration of Blacks is low and Whites to move where the concentration of Blacks is high. This is an attempt to counter both steering by realtors and the self steering resulting from a person having less than full information about a community. "Beningn steering" most frequently is carried out by a housing center which attempts to promote the entire community and provide assistance for people looking for housing. Housing centers operate in a variety of ways. Some are part of a municipal government, others are not-for-profit agencies. Some deal with only rental housing, others with only home purchase and still others with both. Although in the act of being steering individuals

are encouraged to make "pro-integration" moves, their ultimate housing choice is left to them.

Schools are seen by many as a key to promoting racial diversity. Pearce has carefully documented how metropolitan school desegregation has lead to greater integration in housing (8) and a statement made by thirty nine experts in the area of school desegregation asserts that the findings of numerous research studies is that there is an interdependent relationship between school segregation and neighborhood segregation (9). Thus many communities concerned with integration maintenance have taken voluntary measures to encouraged racial balance throughout their school systems. In Shaker Heights, Ohio and Willingboro, New Jersey this has meant the busing of students. In Oak Park a junior high system was created and school boundaries redrawn to maintain neighborhood schools but provide for a better racial balance.

Another set of procedures fall under the category of "community development" and differ from what is done in other communities only in that one goal of the activity, among others, is the promotion of racial diversity. Strong and vigorous code enforcement, housing rehabilitation programs, targeting of Community Development Block Grant Funds, and the promotion of economic development activities are all ways of attempting to maintain or improve community viability and to dispel claims that a racially mixed community is one that is destined for decline.

As a final note, mention must be made about the use of quotas to maintain racial balance. While often discussed, more frequently by opponents than by proponents of integration maintenance, quotas mandating a specific racial mix or a limit to number of Blacks allowed in any area have not been used as a tool

for integration maintenance. "Benign steering" while attempting to encourage a racial mix falls short of quota setting in that the home or apartment seeker always has the final choice.

IV. THE LEGITIMACY OF INTEGRATION MAINTENANCE

Like any planning tool used to create or maintain the character of a community (e.g. zoning) integration maintenance is not without its controversies and critics. While its proponents argue that it is a logical extension of "fair housing" and "open communities" its intent can be viewed in almost the opposite fashion. That is, integration maintenance can be seen as an attempt to limit the access of minorities, especially Blacks, to suburban communities. In this section both legal and ethical concerns relating to integration maintenance will be discussed. No attempt will be made to identify any "right" position but rather the various arguments that have been made will be presented.

It is not surprising that some people contend that many integration maintenance tools are illegal. Realtors have argued that measures such as anti-solicitation ordinances place an unfair restraint on their business. They have also argued, unsuccessfully in court (10), that municipalities lack standing to bring suit against them. Black organizations and individuals have argued that integration maintenance is discriminatory and limits unfairly the choice available to Black homeowners and renters.

Three separate and carefully reasoned arguments on the legality of integration maintenance have appeared in the last two years. A March 1980 Harvard Law Review Note concluded that "benign steering programs, but not quotas, are so necessary to promote a compelling government interest in integration that, despite the burden imposed on Blacks, they do not violate Title VIII or the equal protection clause of the fourteenth ammendment" (11). Polikoff, in a

report to the Joyce F undation, argued that in order to be declared invalid integration maintenance techniques must be shown to violate the equal protection clause of the fourteenth amendment. A key to whether such race-conscious activities are in violation is related to the matter of "compelling" government interest. A municipality must be able to show, based upon careful fact finding, that actions, such as "benign steering" are necessary to promote integration (12). A third paper by McGlasson encourages the use of "affirmative marketing" as a legal method for promoting integration (13). By "affirmative marketing" McGlasson means the requirement that realtors adopt race-conscious marketing practices that work toward, rather than against integration

It would appear from these three articles that it is possible to implement legal integration maintenance tools and programs. As long as they are designed to protect the rights of individuals who wish to live in integrated communities, the rights of communities who wish to remain integrated and as long as they do not unfairly burden one race (Black) while requiring little or nothing of the other (White) a case can be made in their favor. Programs to restrict choices of housing for Blacks to certain sections of a community while allowing free access to Whites would not be able to pass the fairness test and are no doubt illegal. Thus even overt attempts to encourage locational choices for Blacks and Whites can be legal, but quotas are most likely not.

But even if integration maintenance is within the law that does not mean it is a proper action to undertake. There remain ethical considerations. Is it not possible for example, that integration maintenance is a sophisticated and subtle form of discrimination? A community, pressed with a potential influx of Black residents might very well view it impossible to keep all Blacks

out and adopt a program of integration maintenance in hopes of keeping the numbers low. Clearly even in communities where there is strong support for racial diversity some bigoted Whites will use integration maintenance for their own purposes.

A related issue is that of economic class and racial diversity. Many White suburbanites equate the presence of Blacks with economic decline. In that integration maintenance is an attempt to avert economic decline as well as encourage racial diversity it can quite easily become a form of elitism. That is, the dominant White structure in a community may not object to Blacks moving into a community as long as they are economically at least equal to and preferably superior to the existing White population. The absence of any programs to assist any low or moderate income families would no doubt be a clue to any community's intention along this line. Indirectly efforts to maintain a community's viability may also act as a way to limit the number of Black residents by restricting entry to only a portion of the Black community.

While it is much less common, integration maintenance can also relate to the integration of Whites into previously Black communities. This is particularly the case in communities that experienced immigration of Blacks prior to the establishment of any efforts to promote racial diversity. While integration from both directions would seem to be a desireable goal, in most metropolitan areas Blacks are much more restricted in their housing choices than are Whites. Thus the replacement of a Black household by a White household impacts the population of Black homeseekers in that one less decent home is potentially removed from the market. This can be even more serious if gentrification is involved and upgrading of the neighborhood forces lower income

families to seek housing elsewhere. In their analysis of displacement LeGates and Hartman conclude that gentrification has the effect of both increasing segregation and dispersing Black residents (14). Integrating Black communities to promote racial diversity therefore carries with it the same problems plus a few more than integrating White communities.

Integration maintenance programs serve to give both Blacks and Whites an alternative housing choice; the choice of living in a racially diverse community. Whites have many choices of all White housing opportunities and Blacks, while having fewer and less diverse choices, nonetheless have alternative all Black housing opportunities. Seemingly in our society the truly integrated community is a fragile entity and those, both Black and White seeking integrated housing opportunities have the least choice. In that integration maintenance serves to support and promote an integrated alternative and not to exclude individuals it is probably legal. However legality must be considered along side of ethical arguments and any community undertaking integration maintenance needs to carefully determine whether the effort does not negatively effect groups of individuals that it is intended to serve. Obviously programs where negative impacts fall heavily or exclusively on one group are probably discriminatory and the ethical arguments will give way to legal ones.

V. DOES INTEGRATION MAINTENANCE WORK?

Of more than just academic interest is the question of what are the impacts of an integration maintenance program? Does an agressive set of policies and actions carefully implemented lead to a stable and racially diverse community? When commitments of time and money are to be made to programs that can be controversial and are sure to disrupt the normal state of affairs it is important to know whether or not the intended and actual results are likely to be comparable.

It is difficult to obtain anything approaching a quantitative evaluation of integration maintenance. There are few communities where integration maintenance has been in place long enough for definitive conclusions to be reached and the use of statistical tests with target and control communities holds little or no promise. Being able to separate what would have happened from what does happen is difficult at best and since a component of many integration maintenance programs is an image building effort it is rarely possible to differentiate fact from wish in municipal statements about success. Detractors of integration maintenance will most likely place undue emphasis on negative aspects and failures.

As a first step in what is hoped to be an increasingly sophisticated effort to evaluate the effects of integration maintenance, a demographic study of the West Side of Chicago and adjacent Village of Oak Park was carried out to see if the dynamics of racial change in the area could be documented and to determine whether or not any impacts of Oak Park's integration maintenance effort could be identified. The area studied is an approximately 19 square mile

rectangular strip of land (6.2 miles east-west and 3.1 miles north-south) west of Chicago's loop. The eastern boundary is Western Avenue (2400 west) and the western boundary is Harlem Avenue (7200 west). Northern and southern boundaries are North Avenue and Roosevelt Road respectively. Oak Park makes up approximately the western ⅓th of the area studied.

In 1940, the first census data studied, there were only seven of the ninety one census tracts in the area with a greater than ten percent Black population. In subsequent years, however, the Black population grew and expanded westward. Westward movement was most dramatic in the 1960's when twenty one census tracts showed a greater than 50% increase in Black residents. By 1970 Blacks had expanded from the eastern side of the study area to those census tracts adjacent to Oak Park. Researcher Pierre deVise studying the movement predicted that the western expansion of Blacks would not stop at the Chicago city limits and that "Oak Park would become 10 percent Negro by 1975 and 25 percent Negro by 1980" (15).

Residents and community leaders in Oak Park noting what was occuring in the Chicago community area of Austin just to the east became concerned about the fate of Oak Park. Block busting and other shoddy real estate practices accompanied by "White flight" were acting to ensure a rapid turnover and resegregation of Austin from White to Black. Although most Blacks moving into Austin were seeking improved housing and a better community, external forces were working to guarantee a community decline. In an attempt to create a stably integrated community Oak Park embarked on a program of integration maintenance beginning with the passage of a fair housing ordinance in 1968. This was followed by a housing counseling program, established in 1971, prohibition

of "for sale" and "sold" signs in 1972 and an official policy statement enacted by the Village board in 1972 that set racial diversity as the official policy. Creating and implementing these actions and others was not without controversy and to this day debate as to how, how many and why continues. A complete history of Oak Park's program has been documented by Goodwin (16).

To study racial change the ten year rate of change of Black population by census tract was computed. This was done based upon the assumption that racial stability can only exist where the rate of community change from all White to mixed White and Black is not too rapid. Rates of change for all ninety one census tracts in the study area were computed and mapped for each decade beginning in 1940 and ending in 1980. Increases in Black population of less than 50% (5 percent per year) were arbitrarily defined as low enough to promote stable integration. Further an integrated census tract was defined as having not more than 90% nor less than 10% Black residents. Thus a stably integrated census tract would be one having between 10% and 90% Black residents at the end of a decade during which racial change occurred at a rate of 50% or less. Such a definition no doubt incorrectly identifies some tracts as stably integrated but appears to be adequate for the purpose of describing how change has occurred on Chicago's West Side and the Village of Oak Park.

Figures one through four show the rates of change and the stably integrated census tracts at the end of each decade for the area studied. In the 1940's (figure one) Blacks were present in only a few of the eastern census tracts and high rates of racial change were limited to only a few tracts. Black population expansion was small and centered on Madison Street a major east-west arterial. Several census tracts are identified as being integrated although it

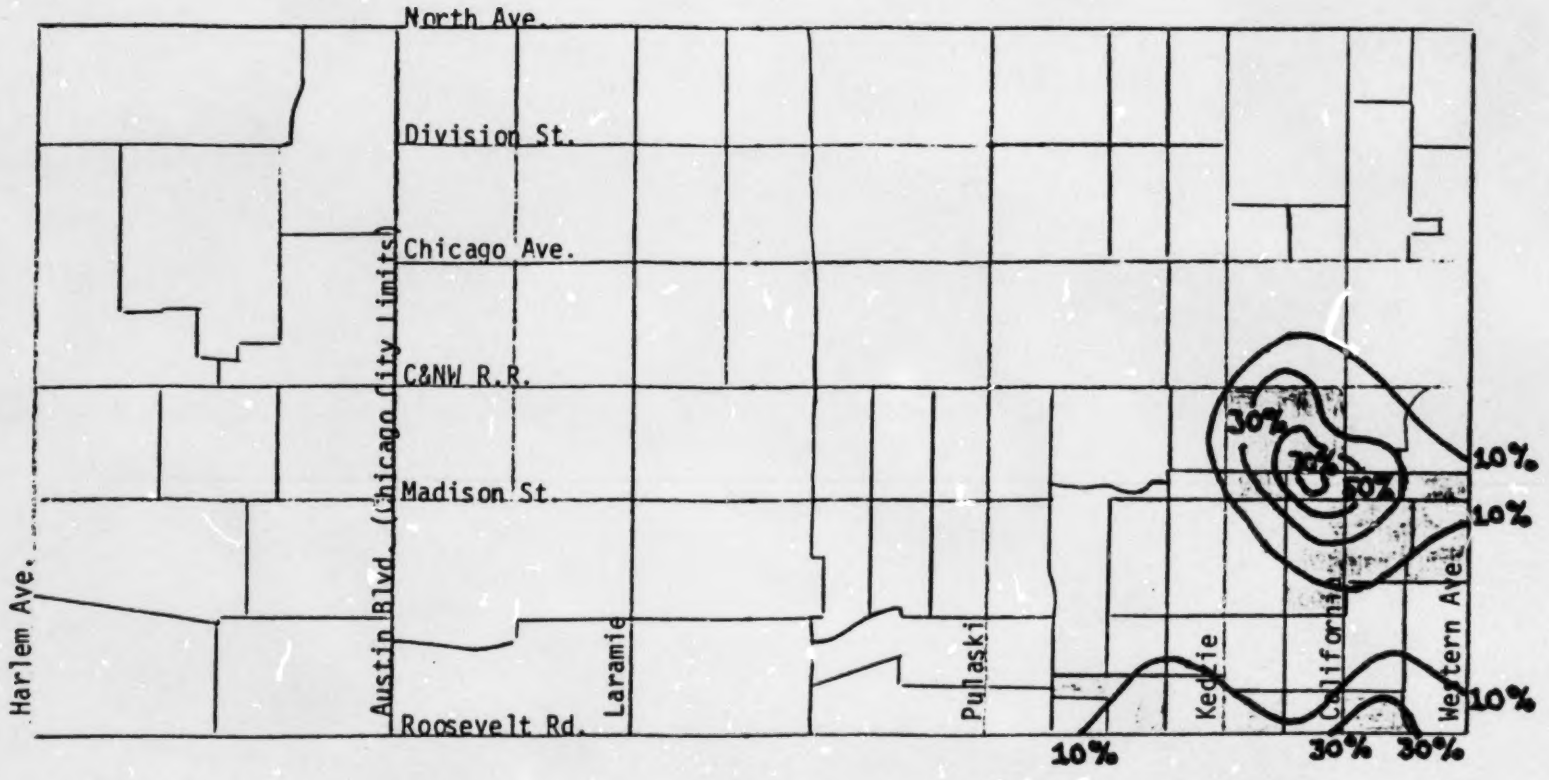

Figure One: Percentage Change in Black Population, 1940 - 1950

is likely that there existed considerable internal segregation in these tracts.

The 1950's (figure two) saw a sizeable expansion of Black population both to the north and south of Madison Street. The center of the greatest racial change can be seen to have shifted approximately 1-1½ miles to the west. As was the case in 1950, in 1960 there were several tracts identified as being integrated. However of those tracts indentified in 1950 only one still met the definition of integrated in 1960. The rest had all resegregated from White to Black.

Dramatic changes in the racial character of the study area occurred in the 1960's as can be seen from figure three. Whereas the areas of rapid racial transition in the previous two decades were somewhat limited geographically, in the sixties vast areas changed from mostly White to mostly Black. Ten census tracts (11% of the total) recorded a change in Black population of greater than 90%. Not only were rates of change high but boundaries between high rates of change and little or no change were sharp. Only three census tracts, two of which are in the southeast corner of the study area, met the definition as being integrated. In the direction of Black expansion westward only one tract was identified as integrated. Black expansion had proceeded to the border of Oak Park with the tract just south of Madison Street and east of Austin Boulevard having undergone a 68% change in Black population. (There were no Blacks living in this tract in 1960). It is understandable, based upon the information contained in this figure, that researcher deVise would predict a continued westward movement of Blacks into Oak Park and that Oak Park residents would become concerned about the future of their community.

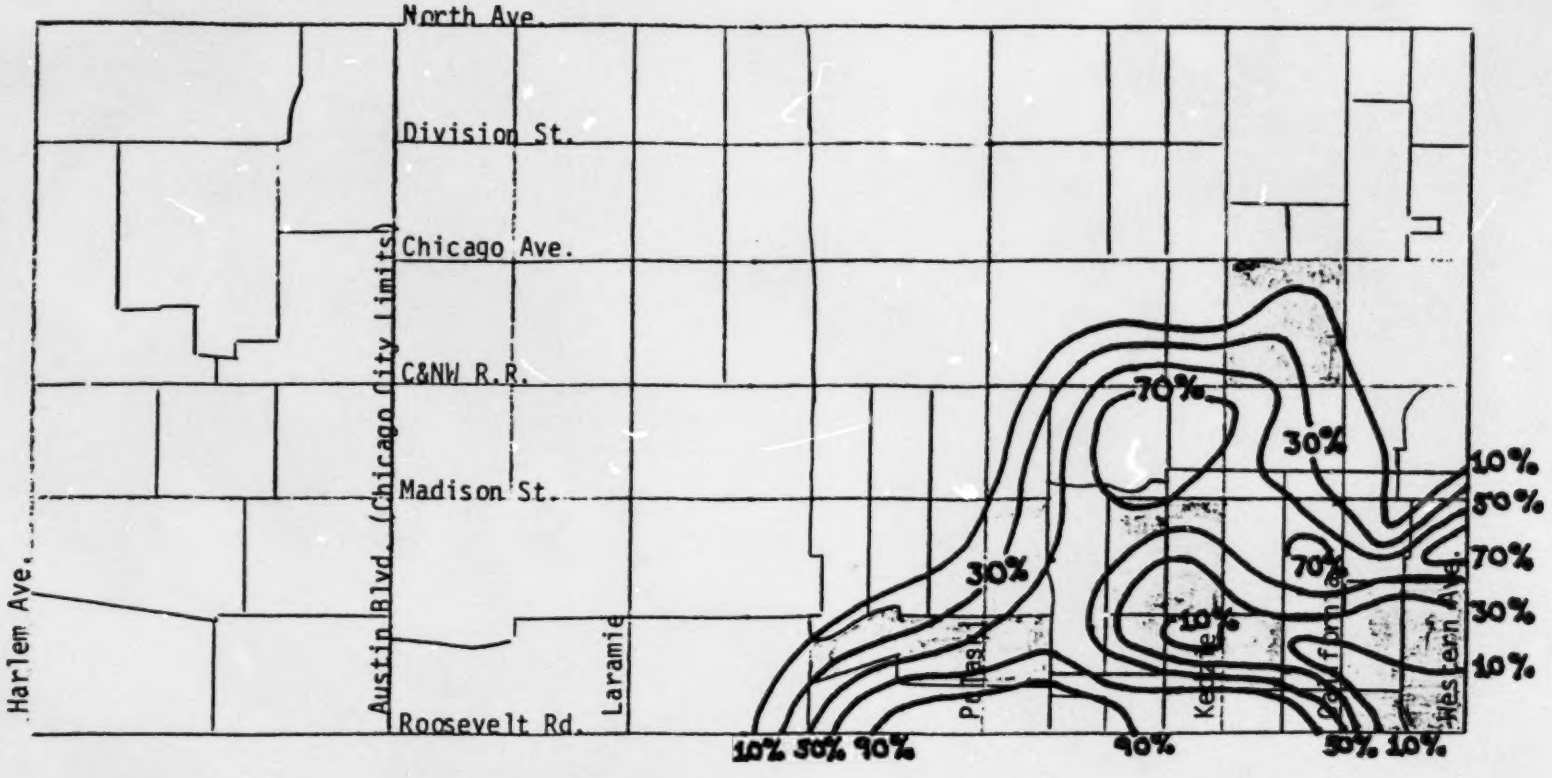

Figure Two: Percentage Change in Black Population, 1950 - 1960

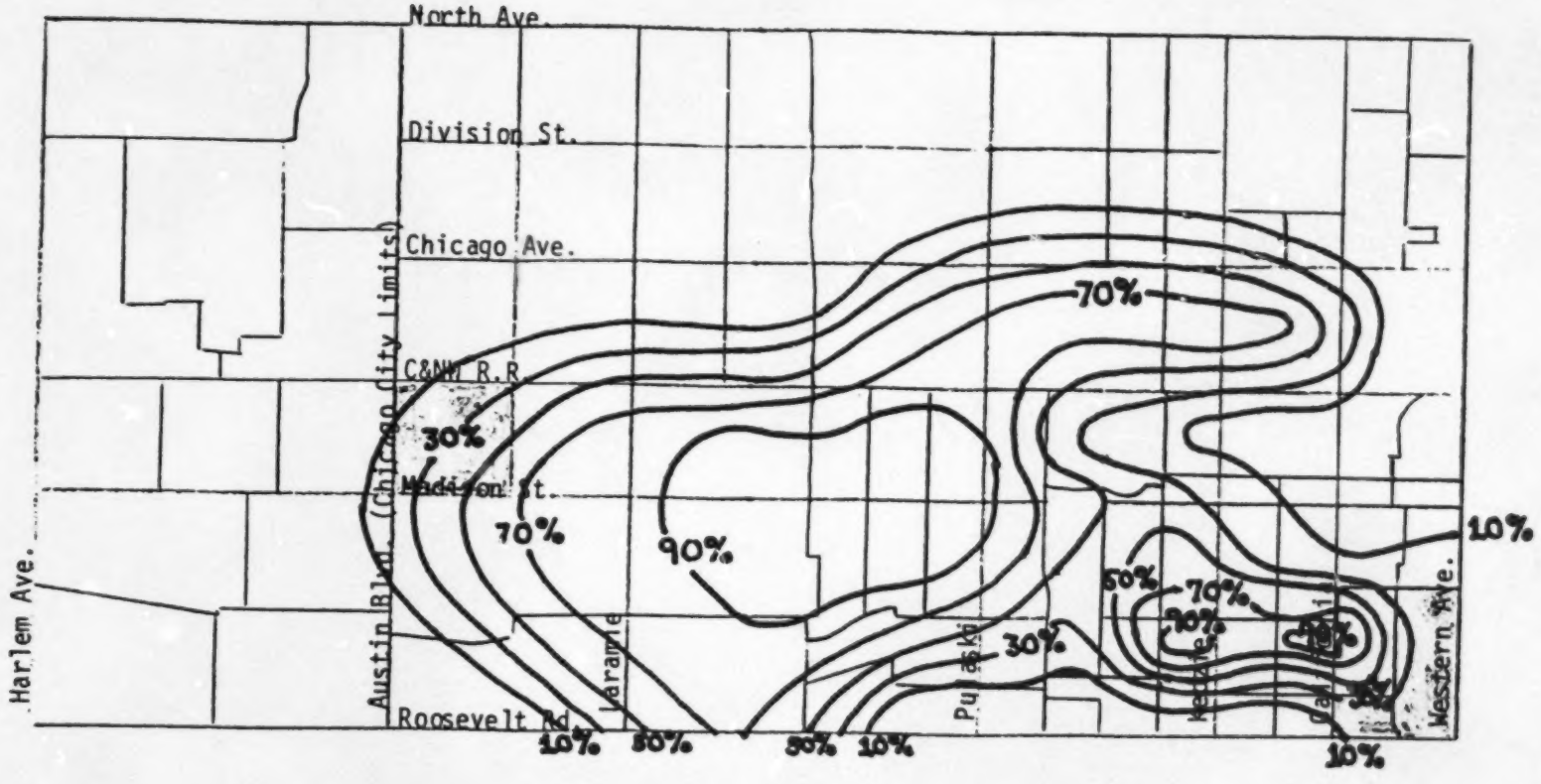

Figure Three: Percentage Change in Black Population, 1960 - 1970

Compared with the three previous decades, the data for racial change in the 1970's, as is shown in figure four, shows a surprising shift. Instead of continuing to move further westward, the area of most rapid racial change can be seen to have moved almost directly northward. Whereas before the 1970's the region of black expansion was generally south of the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad (C&NW) tracks, expansion in the 1970's was to the north of them. Blacks did indeed move into Oak Park but at rates of change that were low compared with previously observed rates within Chicago. The highest rate of change in any Oak Park census tract was 29.5%. In 1980 the easternmost five census tracts in Oak Park had integrated at rates of change ranging from 13% to 30%. All Oak Park tracts contained some Black residents although tracts in the northwest and southwest corners of the Village had only a nomimal Black presence (1.6% and 3.2% respectively). By the end of the decade Oak Park was 10.9% Black as opposed to the 25% predicted by deVise.

While it is not possible from this study to determine exact cause and effect it is rather clear that as Black expansion reached and crossed the border of Oak Park it did so in a way that the pattern of racial change for Oak Park differed considerably from previous patterns in Chicago. Resegregation did not continue to move westward and was instead deflected to the north. But even the northward deflection does not follow previous patterns in that the division between all White and resegregated tracts is much less distinct than in previous decades.

To the extent that the shifts in the patterns of racial change in the 1970's resulted from the programs and policies initiated by Oak Park, integration maintenance appears to have had a measure of success. It is too

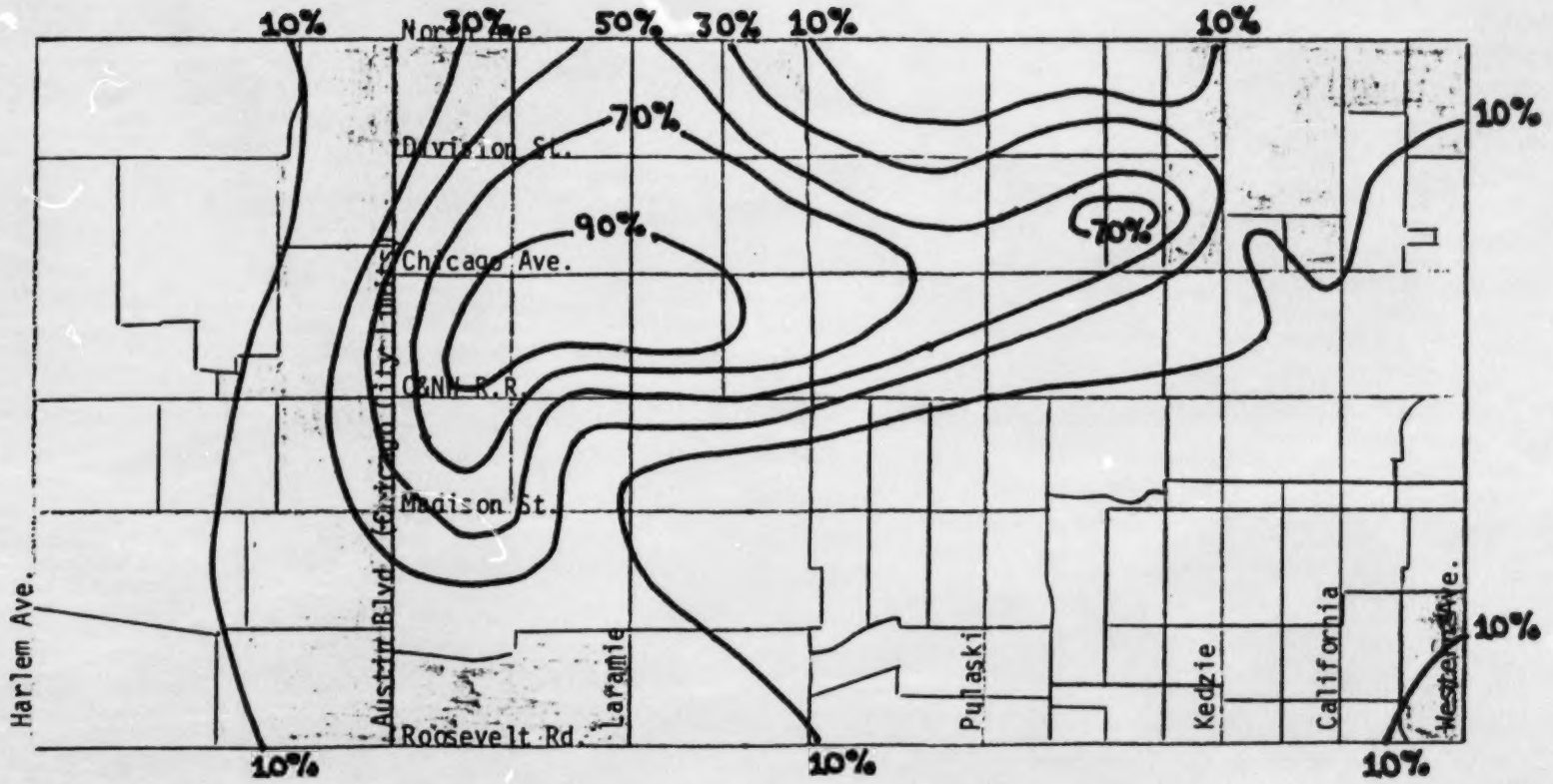

Figure Four: Percentage Change in Black Population, 1970 - 1980

early to conclude, however, at least from this preliminary demographic study, that Oak Park has become integrated for all time and will not resegregate. Based on forty years of racial change data it is obvious that integrated census tracts rarely survive more than one decade. Should the five tracts in Oak Park that were integrated in 1980 continue to be so in 1990 it will be then possible to declare that the Oak Park integration maintenance program is an unqualified success.

One piece of information exists which raises questions about the role of integration maintenance in keeping Oak Park from resegregating. Figure five shows the percentage change in the median value of owner occupied homes by census tracts between 1960 and 1970. The percentages are quite dramatic. Home values on the Chicago side of Austin Boulevard appreciated very little in some instances even declined, while in Oak Park they increased at about and the County wide rate. Thus in Chicago the housing market was very soft while in Oak Park it remained firm. These data reflect conditions that for the most part existed before the implementation of integration maintenance. The movement of Black population in the 1970's correlates closely with the soft spots in housing in the 1960's. Perhaps the racial patterns are more reflective of owner confidence that the housing market will remain viable than of any Village initiated programs to promote racial diversity.

One final point needs mentioning. If integration maintenance has kept Oak Park from resegregating it may have come at the expense of those areas to the east within Chicago. Figure six shows by decades, the census tracts that have undergone a greater than 50 percent increase in Black population. The northward shift of Black population in the 1970's is quite apparent in this

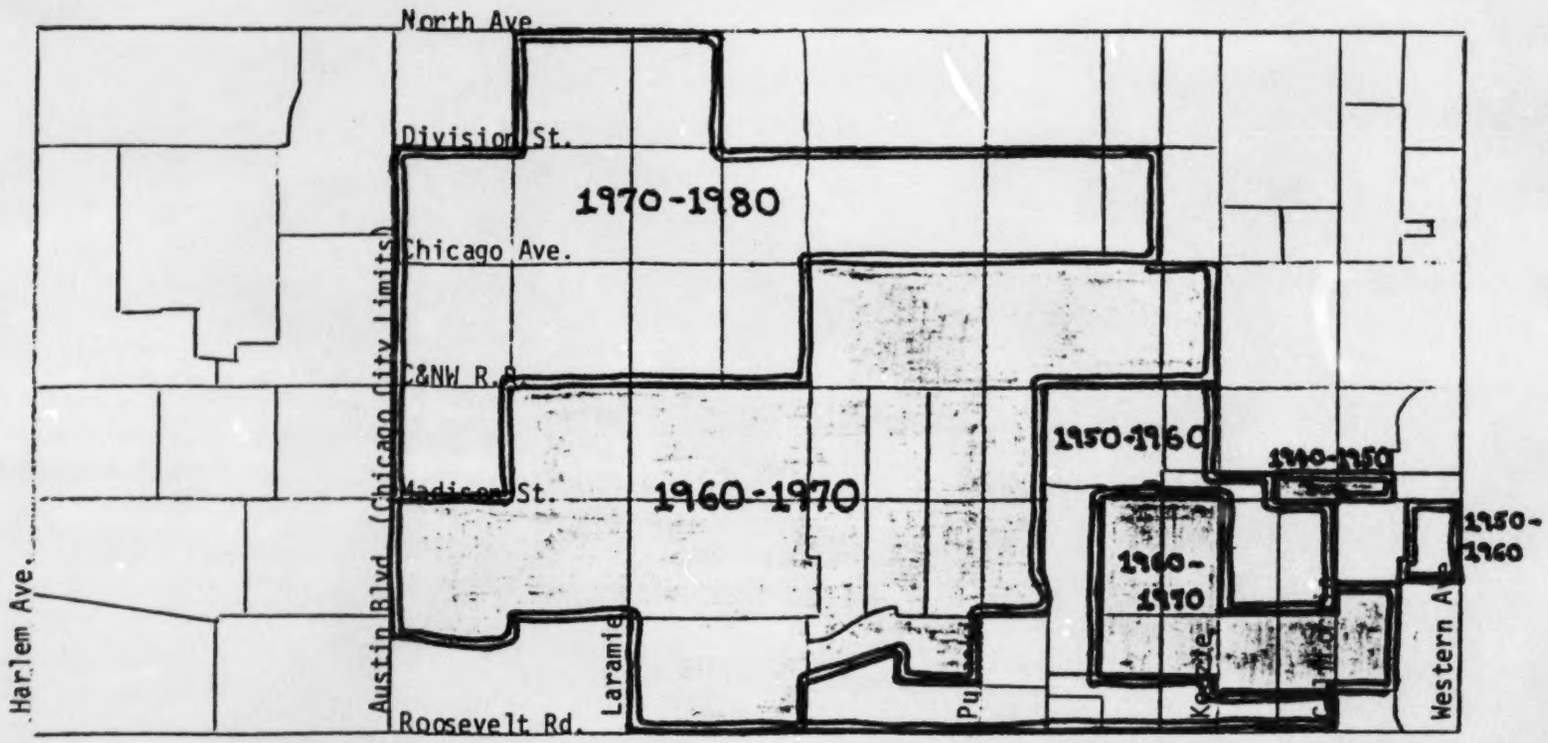

Figure Five: Census Tracts Experiencing a Greater than 50% Increase in Black Population Between Census Counts

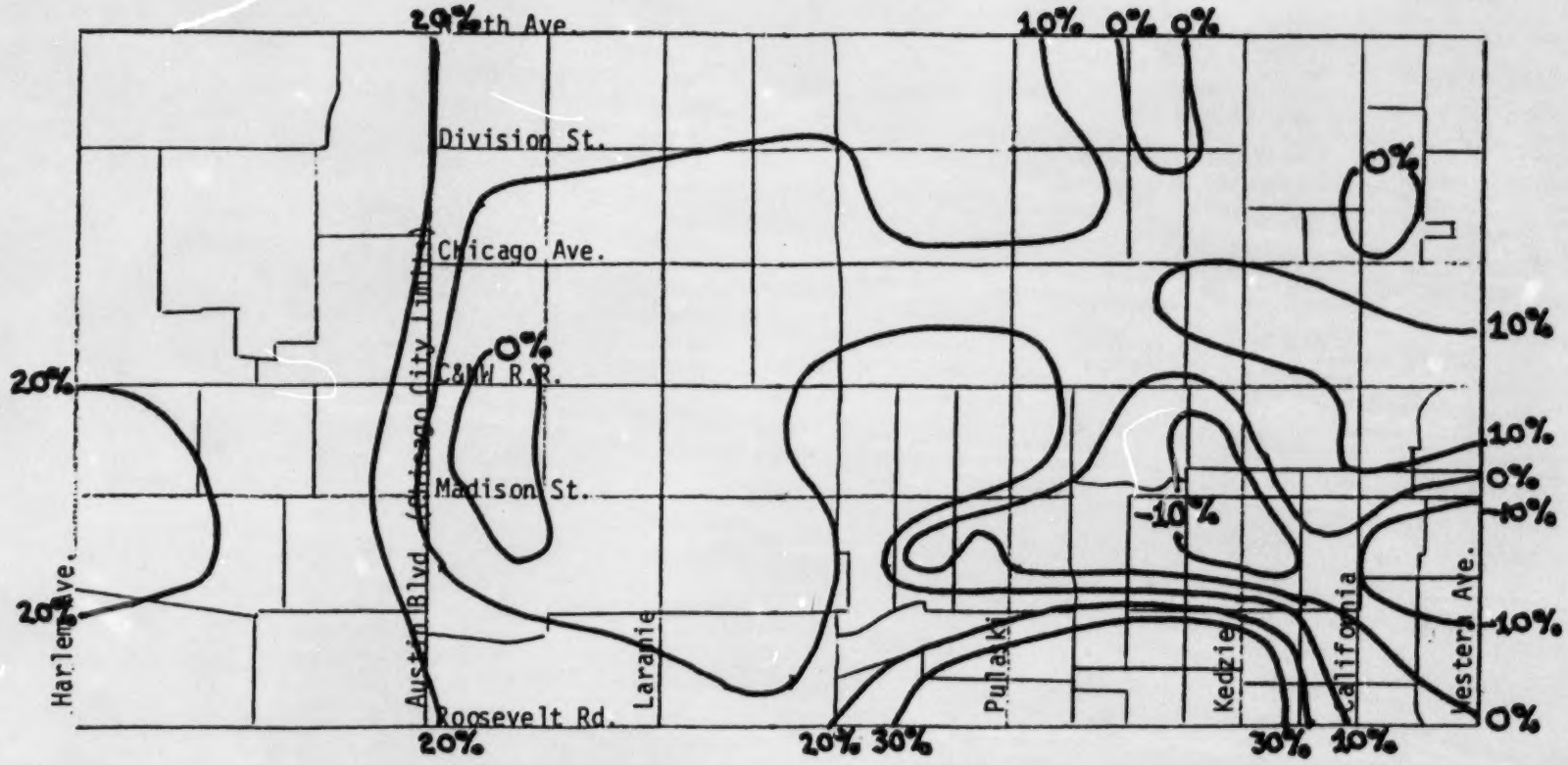

Figure Six: Percentage Change in Median Value, Owner Occupied Homes, 1960 - 1970.

figure. One is left with the question of whether in the broader sense Oak Park's programs have served the cause of integration or have simply moved the problem somewhere else?

VI. DISCUSSION AND SUMMARY

Black suburbanization seems to result from both a push and a pull. Blacks are being pushed from central cities as the number of available housing units declines. But they are also pulled by the perceived and often real benefits of suburban living. These forces will no doubt continue at least over the near term and thus the suburbanization of Blacks will continue. As communities face integration and the possibility of resegregation, integration maintenance is likely to be a common policy choice.

Like any form of regulation (e.g. zoning, building codes), integration maintenance is not without its critics. There are those who oppose it because they believe it unfairly restricts the real estate industty. Realtors find there is profit to be made by turning over or resegregating a community. Minorities frequently argue that integration maintenance is inherently restrictive and limits their accessibility to a community and its benefits. Some political critics see integration maintenance as a way for an existing White power structure to retain power by attempting to keep community change to a minimum.

Supporters however contend that communities and their residents have the right, within limits prescribed by law and the Constitution, to self determination and that it is justifiable to strive for a racially diverse community. They argue that since market and social forces tend to work against integrated communities, municipalities and their residents are forced to take action in order that their right to remain integrated be upheld.

It is easy to exceed both legal and moral bounds in the pursuit of a good cause. Each attempt at integration maintenance must therefore be carefully scrutinized to assure that it does not unduly restrict the rights of any group of individuals. But to do nothing in fear of doing something wrong will in many cases also have the effect of restricting the rights of those who desire the opportunity to live in a racially diverse community. Integration maintenance thus becomes a delicate balance of both individual and group rights in an effort to see that equal opportunity to served.

This paper has presented data that appears to show that in one community, Oak Park, integration maintenance has had an effect on long term demographic trends. While it is too early to conclude that Oak Park will never resegregate and will successfully remain integrated, the Village did avoid resegregation during the 1970's. The next decade should show whether or not resegregation has been premanently halted at Oak Park's borders.

The study described in this paper is the first of several planned to explore the dynamics of suburban expansion of Black populations. Data will soon be collected for a study of the southern border of Chicago and adjacent suburbs and it is hoped that a similar study can be performed for the Shaker Heights, Cleveland Heights areas of Cleveland. These and other studies of Black-White population shifts should be of use to those who are concerned with fair housing, integration and integration maintenance efforts.

VII. REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. The Federal Fair Housing Act or Title VIII of the Civil Rights Act of 1968, (Public Law 90-248).

2. Goering, John M., "Neighborhood Tipping and Racial Transition: A Review of Social Science Evidence." Journal of the American Institute of Planners, vol. 44 (1978), pp 68-78.

3. Lake, Robert W., "The Fair Housing Act in a Discriminatory Market." Journal of the American Planning Association, vol. 47 (1981), pp 48-58.

4. Resegregation is the end state of a process whereby a community changes from one race to another. In the typical case an all-White community becomes integrated but because of "White flight" and low demand by Whites for housing eventually becomes a predominately minority community.

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